1: Kruger M-5 (ca. 1930)1936 FX14 Lovedu FX14

THE LOVEDU

By FERDINAND KRUGER

101 128 The Lovedu are a Bantu-tribe residing in the East of the Northern Transvaal. The history of the tribe which is published here is the work of a Lovedu. With assistance of a number of old Lovedu-men and some teachers I tested the facts and rewrote the whole paper in correct Lovedu-dialect. The translation given by me is as literal as possible.

104 Vowels: *a, ɐ, i, o, ɔ, u.*

Semivowels: *y, w.*

Consonants:

Nasals: *m, n, ɲ* (dental) *ṅ* (velar).

Fricatives: *v, f,* (both bilabial); *z, s,*; *ž š; hh,*[1] *h; l, ɬ* (dental); *ɾ*[2]; *r.*

Plosives: *b, p; g, k; d, ḍ* (dental) *t, ʈ* (dental).

Affricates: *tsh, tšh.*

Diacritical letters:

h after a symbol=aspiration.

w after a symbol="back labialization."

y after a symbol="front labialization."

y after a nasal=palatalization.

[1] *hh* voiced aspirate *h.*

[2] *ɾ* see A. N. Tucker, M.A.—*The Comparative Phonetics of the Suto-Chuana Group of Bantu Languages*, p. 48, 143. London 1929.

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123 sweating humanity. After an exhausting walk of ten miles or more over difficult country, in order to witness a ceremony, it is discouraging to be refused admittance to the performance or to find it postponed until the European leaves; but occasional success amply repays perseverance. In the timeless Lovedu society, even if the investigator is welcomed, he may have to wait hours for a performance to begin; but the time need never be wholly wasted. Personal observation brings to light bewildering variations in the culture. There is no such thing as rigid conformity, and rules are made for man, not man for rules. Until the observer's own cultural conditioning is re-conditioned by intimate touch with the society, he cannot hope to penetrate its meaning.

In this book we are concerned to describe custom and life as they are to-day, after fifty years of European contact. Every custom, every ceremony, every case in it, has been personally seen except in those instances, always clear from the context, in which the event, such as the death of a Lovedu chief, did not occur during the period of investigation. We have written about everyday things as they are enacted in the tribe to-day, not as they were in the past. For obvious reasons, names mentioned in illustrative cases are all fictitious, save only where they are essential for the subject matter, as in the chapters on tribal history, social groupings, and political organization.

At the outset of our investigation we planned a rough division of work. One of us, E. J. Krige, concentrated upon magic and religion, family life, and women's activities; the other, J. D. Krige, upon laws and political organization, history, and man's activities. But our method of studying human situations as and where we found them, and of recording things as and when they occurred, precluded any rigid division, and each obtained information upon all aspects of culture. Each of us independently studied many institutions, such as marriage, economic life, and medical practices, and the diversity of our information and impressions—often reflections of our personal differences of outlook—provided useful clues to further observation and interpretation, besides showing that in field work the temperament of the investigator is a vital factor. In the preparation of this book E. J. Krige is responsible for Chapters II, V, VII, VIII, XII to XV, and J. D. Krige for Chapters I, III, IV, VI, IX to XI, XVI, XVII and the maps; but each has carefully gone through the work of the other and the whole is the result of the fullest co-operation between us. It does not seem necessary to mention in detail which of us took the photographs reproduced.

197 As regards the language of the Lovedu, we found that, difficult as it was to acquire, a working knowledge was absolutely essential, because implicit in it is a vast background of associations which can never be recaptured in translation. Khilovedu is now practically a dialect of Sotho, yet it cannot be adequately written in Sotho orthography. It approximates to Venda in much of its vocabulary, falls midway between Sotho and Venda in grammatical structure, and is Sothoized in phonology,
104 but many of its sounds are unknown in Sotho. Generally speaking,
194 we have adopted the orthography recommended by the International Institute with some modifications. For dental *d* and *t* we have used *ḍ* and *ṭ*

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as in Venda, and now commonly used in Northern Sotho, where these sounds also occur, but, as in Sotho, the semi-flapped alveolar lateral fricative, a phoneme of *d*, has not been distinguished from ordinary *d*; and we have deemed it unnecessary to have a special letter for the sound of English *sh*, or *ts* or *c* for the sound *ch* in English 'church', which we write *tsh*. Many variations are evident in Khilovedu in its movement towards Sotho, the language taught in the schools: there are differences in vocabulary and sounds used by women and young children, on the one hand, and by those who go to town, on the other, and by the young as compared with the old. The old sound of English *z* in *azure* becomes in the mouth of the younger generation the English *j* as in 'John'; *z* as in 'prize' alternates with *dz*, which is more common among the young people; and an old prefixal form, *lu*, is generally now *le*, except among the oldest people. We have used, *j*, *dz* more often than *z*, and *le* not *lu*, in accordance with modern trends. The *u* tends to become the closed *o*, and it is often very difficult to distinguish between these sounds; but here again we have kept as close as possible to the most prevalent pronunciation and have adopted *mu*, not *mo*, as the noun prefix.

We desire to thank the International Institute for publication and for the grants which enabled us to undertake this work, the Rev. W. and Mrs. Krause for hospitality while we were on their mission station, and numerous Lovedu friends, who must remain anonymous, for their co-operation. We desire also to express our gratitude to Dr. A. I. Richards for her invaluable assistance in seeing the book through the Press, and to Miss D. G. Brackett, the Secretary of the International Institute, for additional help in this connexion. But it is to Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé that we are most deeply indebted. When one of us was a student of economics and the other practising at the Johannesburg Bar, she, as lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand, awakened our interest in social anthropology, made us realize its paramount importance as the basis of policies and national welfare in this southern sub-continent of Africa, and gave us that invaluable background, both of knowledge and ideals, from which our work has since then been oriented. Later, as adviser and friend, she was to us the source of unfailing encouragement, stimulating suggestion, and inspired guidance. For these roles there is no one better equipped than she by knowledge and experience of the Bantu. It is due to her that we have devoted ourselves, not to the professions with which we originally began our careers, but to social anthropology and to the ideal of putting it in the service of the practical problems of black and white in Africa.

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J. D. Krige.

Pretoria.
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